

It will, I fear, cost thousands of lives. In the end it is bound to be discredited, to be called the dream of an idealist who failed to realize the danger until too late to check those who attempt to put the principle into force. What a calamity that the phrase was ever uttered! What misery it will cause! Think of the feelings of the author when he counts the dead who dies because he coined a phrase! A man, who is a leader of public thought, should beware of intemperate or undigested declarations. He is responsible for the consequences.

There have to be limits, and it should be a task of American statecraft to seek to define them. It is not that 185 members of the United Nations are enough. There is room for more. But surely there needs to be a limit to the horrors we have witnessed in the Balkans in this decade, and in Kosovo this past month. From the Caucasus to the Punjab, from Palestine to the Pyrenees, violence beckons. It is not difficult to get started. At least one American diplomat holds a direct view of the origin of the present horror. I cannot speak for every detail of his account, but some are well known, and his view is not, to my knowledge, contested.

The current phase of the Kosovo crisis can be traced back to 1996, when financial collapse in Albania (small investors lost their meager life savings in a classic Ponzi scheme condoned by the then government) led to political and social chaos. President Berisha (a Geg from the misnamed Democratic Party) was forced out amidst massive rioting in which the army disappeared as its armories were emptied. Arms found their way into the armed gangs and eventually to an incipient Kosovo Albanian guerrilla movement that called itself the Kosovo Liberation Army. The new government of Socialist Fatos Nan (a Southerner, a Tosk, and a former Communist) was unable to establish effective control over the north and Berisha made a conspicuous point of not only supporting the KLA, but actually turning his personal property in the north over to the KLA as a training base. Supporting fellow Glegs apparently makes for good politics among the north-erners.

The KLA's strategy was very simple: Target Serbian policemen and thus provoke the inevitable brutal Serb retaliation against Kosovo Albanian civilians, all in the hopes of bringing NATO into the conflict. They have succeeded brilliantly in this goal, but have not proved to be much a fighting force themselves.

These are not arguments new to the Senate. A year ago, April 30, 1998, my eminent colleague JOHN W. WARNER and I offered cautionary amendments concerning NATO expansion eastward. I went first with a proposal that new NATO members should first belong to the European Union. I received, as I recall, 17 votes. My colleague then proposed to postpone any further enlargement of NATO for a period of at least three years. That proposal, again if I recall, received 41 votes. We felt, on the whole, somewhat lonely. Now, however, we learn that Defense Secretary William Perry and his top arms-control aide, Ashton Carter, as related by Thomas L. Friedman in *The Times* of March 16, 1999.

Mr. Perry and Mr. Carter reveal that when they were running the Pentagon they argued

to Mr. Clinton that NATO expansion "should be deferred until later in the decade." Mr. Perry details how he insisted at a top-level meeting with the President, on December 21, 1994, that "early expansion was a mistake," because it would provoke "distrust" in Russia and undermine cooperation on arms control and other issues, and because "prematurely adding untried militaries" at a time when NATO itself was reassessing its role would not be helpful.

The Secretary of Defense lost the argument; in Friedman's view domestic politics overrode strategic concerns. But who won? The various pronouncements that issued from the recent NATO summit come close to a telephone directory of prospective new NATO members. Before we get carried away, might we ask just how many of them have the kind of internal ethnic tension so easily turned on? Which will be invaded by neighbors siding with the insurgents? Must NATO then go to war in the Caucasus?

The second matter of which I would speak is that of international law. The United States and its NATO allies have gone to war, put their men and women in harm's way for the clearest of humanitarian purposes. They have even so attacked a sovereign state in what would seem a clear avoidance of the terms of the U.N. Charter, specifically Article 2(4). The State Department has issued no statement as to the legality of our actions. An undated internal State Department document cites Security Council Resolution 1199 affirming that the situation in Kosovo constitutes a threat to the peace in the region, and demanding that the parties cease hostilities and maintain peace in Kosovo. The Department paper concludes: "FRY actions in Kosovo cannot be deemed an internal matter, as the Council has condemned Serbian action in Kosovo as a threat to regional peace and security."

A valid point. But of course the point is weakened, at very least, by the fact of our not having gone back to the Security Council to get authorization to act as we have done. We have not done this, of course, because the Russians and/or the Chinese would block any such resolution. Even so, it remains the case that the present state of international law is in significant ways a limitation on our freedom to pursue humanitarian purposes. Again, a matter that calls for attention, indeed, demands attention.

In sum, limits and law.

CLINTON HIGH SCHOOL'S ATTACHÉ SHOW CHOIR

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, today I want to honor the premiere high school show choir in the Nation—Mississippi's own Clinton High School's Attaché. Forty-two singers/dancers, sixteen instrumentalists, and seventeen crew members make up the outstanding group of young adults from a high school with an enrollment of 11 hundred.

For the past decade, the members of Attaché have proven to be goodwill

ambassadors for their high school, their community, and the great State of Mississippi. They have traveled to competitions all across America—Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, Florida, New York, and California. During this time, Attaché has not only competed in, but won every major show choir competition in the United States. They are the only high school show choir to ever win the grand championship in each venue of the Showstopper's International Invitational Competitions—an accomplishment of which Mississippians should truly be proud. While competing with other American high school students, they have demonstrated to the nation Mississippi's culture and excellence in the arts.

Mr. President, I want to point out that all of these accomplishments have been made while balancing practice and performance schedules with academics. These students serve as role models for the Nation. They demonstrate the tremendous achievements which are possible through dedication and hard work.

Since 1992, David and Mary Fehr have led Attaché. David serves as the group's director. He arranges all numbers, directs the vocals and serves as the pianist during the show choir's performances. Mary designs the sets and costumes for the performers and personally sews the girls' outfits. This husband and wife team illustrates the value of teamwork. Discipline, self-reliance, and hard work are each of their charges. They are the epitome of what a public school educator should be. The Clinton Public Schools are blessed to have them on board.

This outstanding group of young adults and their dedicated leaders are shining examples of what positive energy can produce. It is refreshing to know that there are still teenagers out there with dedication and determination. Being a part of this show choir requires long hours and hard-work. Clinton and the whole state of Mississippi should be truly proud of the accomplishments of Attaché.

JOHN HUME'S 30 OUTSTANDING YEARS IN NORTHERN IRELAND

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, John Hume's career is surely one of the most distinguished in Irish history, or in any nation's history, and all of us in America who care about Ireland are greatly in his debt. Last week, this distinguished leader of the Social Democratic and Labour Party celebrated 30 years of public service. His accomplishments are many, as was recognized last year when he shared the Nobel Peace Prize for extraordinary leadership in producing the Good Friday Peace Agreement. One detail about that prize speaks volumes about John Hume—he donated the entire cash prize to charities in Northern Ireland.

I welcome this opportunity to extend my warmest congratulations to John Hume on his 30 years of service to